20c APRIL 28, 1952 KEFAUVER'S CHANCES: AN EDITORIAL

New Republic

JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS ON "THE POWER OF RIGHTEOUSNESS"

A call for a dynamic world policy based on U S ideals and the aspirations of peoples overseas

Reviews of

TWO BOOKS ON YEATS *by Kimon Friar*

ANEURIN BEVAN *by T. R. Fyvel*

SAMUEL LUBELL *by Richard Strout*

APR 23 [illegible]
[illegible] Charles C. [illegible]
[illegible] Kansas City, [illegible]

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Letters

Mobilization Appraisal

● Harry Conn's piece on Charles E. Wilson's performance as defense mobilizer (NR, April 14) is biased, uninformed and unfair.

I have been covering mobilization for the New York *Herald Tribune* since last September. I have learned only two things: (1) the critics don't know nearly enough of the details to be able to speak intelligently and (2) no individual can presume to judge whether "mistakes" have been made or unconscionable delays incurred.

Mr. Conn's piece is full of unfair implications.

1. He criticizes Wilson for saying in his first quarterly report that early 1952 would see the worst of the materials pinch. Wilson was right. It did. Allocations are now rising after hitting their low point. And the low allocations were hard on many manufacturers, though fortunately they were not so low as to prevent an adequate civilian supply (the reason being that the military simply couldn't use any more than they got).

2. Wilson never said in his first quarterly report that our goal was 50,000 planes a year. He said, I believe, that it was capacity for 50,000 planes a year.

3. The F-86 is not "something like 70 percent behind" any schedule set by Wilson. It is behind what some people in the Pentagon hoped would be possible, (just as every single schedule in World War II was behind).

4. Scarcity of electronics equipment has undoubtedly held up deliveries of many aircraft. The reason is that designs, as the country entered the mobilization build-up, were not complete. Radars blackout at the test stage and have to be altered. The Defense Department (quite properly, no doubt) decides a better fire-control system is needed. But that does not reflect a lack of availability of materials or components; it merely reflects the fundamental truth of the whole matter: that the country entered its mobilization build-up from a standing start, without firm designs.

5. So Pratt and Whitney couldn't get the machine tools it needed. They aren't the only ones. And the reason is that the country's machine-tool industry was allowed to go to pot in the inter-war years. Wilson admits that the mobilizers were slow in breaking a few bottlenecks in this field, but there would have been tremendous shortages in any case, particularly because some of the new weapons need specially designed tools that have never been made before. The industry has been required to quadruple production in two years, and will.

6. Exactly 80.3 percent of the tax write-off certificates have gone to basic raw materials, plus power, plus transportation—all fields in which there isn't much small business to begin with. If the idea had been to help small business, then there would have been far more of the "new plants . . . at the taxpayers' expense that will not contribute to the defense program at all."

Americans love to criticize, but there is only one way to prove a "failure" in mobilization. That is to demonstrate that the build-up could have been faster. . . . The real fault was a total failure to keep this country in readiness to mobilize—in terms of military design . . . machine tool capacity, plant facilities.

One last point. Last January (1951) Wilson said the country would spend about $44 billion on military programs in fiscal 1952 (including military aid). We shall spend somewhere between $42 billion and $43 billion. If anybody can produce a Pentagon schedule that is half as accurate, I'd like to see it.

Silver Spring, Md. EDWIN L. DALE JR.

● Having covered mobilization since shortly after Mr. Wilson's arrival in Washington, I have learned that too many reporters accept press handouts without bothering themselves with facts behind the releases. Here are the answers to Mr. Dale's points, in order:

1. Mr. Dale answers his own point to my full satisfaction. Material allocations are rising largely because production is so far behind schedule that "the military simply couldn't use any more than they got."

2. Mr. Dale is right.

3. The 70-percent lag was a published figure which I several times checked with Defense Department spokesmen for accuracy.

4. This underlines my point that, with human exceptions, these factors should most certainly have been considered by Wilson in planning the defense-mobilization program.

5. I suggest that Mr. Dale read in full the hearing transcript of Senator Moody's Small Business subcommittee on machine-tool shortages really to learn of the shameful neglect in this field which has so fouled up the program.

6. Telford Taylor, chairman of the Small Defense Plants Administration, has been most concerned that certificates have been issued with almost total disregard of the existing percentage of small businesses in "each type of industry." Proper heed of these percentages would not necessarily mean new plants that wouldn't contribute to the defense program. It would mean a decided halt in the trend toward further concentrations of our economy.

Last point—I am not aware of the Wilson quote. However, of the $53 billion made available by Congress for fiscal 1951, only $19.8 billion were spent. Secretary of Defense Lovett says he "hopes" $40 billion will be spent in fiscal

(Continued on page 4)

Bandwagon

If Not, No Fault of His!

I also seemed to sense a perhaps subconscious intuitive fear and panic that . . . General MacArthur will secure the Republican nomination, and be triumphantly elected as the first real American President to occupy the White House for two decades.

His job will be no cynosure.—*From a Letter to the Editor in the Springfield (Mass.)* Daily News.

White House Broker

President Truman broadcast to the nation, the tremendous profits made by the United States Steel Corp. If you would like to own stock in the United States Steel Corp., or any other company, we will take your order for one share or more. D. S. Dickert, Stocks and Bonds, 1712 Capitol Ave., Cheyenne, Wyoming —*From an advertisement in the Wyoming* State Tribune.

Land of the Free

Room for Rent—In typical American home with privileges. Non-Communist affidavit required.—*From a want ad in the* Detroit News.

Melting Pot

All our professional cassandras who fill the air with loud alarums that democracy is going down the drain in this country should be given a free trip to this gilded community.

Palm Beach is incontrovertible proof that democracy is a vital, living and growing force in these United States. Anybody, but anybody, can come to Palm Beach today, and what's more, he does. —*From the Kansas City* Star.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

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New Republic

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EDITOR: Michael Straight
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PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane
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CONTRIBUTING CRITICS: W. H. Auden, Nicola Chiaramonte, Harold Clurman, Dudley Fitts, Kimon Friar, Gerald Johnson, V. O. Key, Max Lerner, Richard Lester, James R. Newman, Kathleen Raine, John Crowe Ransom, Herbert Read, Mark Schorer, James Johnson Sweeney, Robert Penn Warren
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT: F. R. Ruskin
COPY ASSISTANT: Lucille Davis

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WASHINGTON WIRE

NEARLY every election for the past 20 years has seen a majority of Washington correspondents predict one thing and the voters do another. This year there is almost unanimous belief that Eisenhower can beat any Democrat, and we suspect that this is wrong, too.

Here are some of the reasons. To start with, there are more Democrats now than there are Republicans: birthrate and urbanization have seen to that. Again, there will be full employment this fall, and voters traditionally favor an Administration that brings prosperity. Thirdly, retirement of Truman has reduced the chances of a Dixie bolt and made agreement on the civil-rights issue somewhat easier. On top of this there are two factors on the Republican side. First is the burning feud between the Ike-Taft forces, a feud that will set Taft leaders pouting if defeated and that will cause many Ike followers to support the Democrats if Ike loses. And finally, if Ike is nominated (as we expect), he must reveal himself as a conservative on many domestic issues—very likely a conservative well behind the temper of the times. There are substantial reasons for Democratic hope in this election if the party can rally behind a strong candidate.

But the Democrats are in a hole. How big a hole we realized when we dropped in at the New York rally for Averell Harriman last week where most of the party's Presidential candidates, with the exception of Sen. Richard Russell (D, Ga.), spoke. It was not a happy experience. Far and away the best speech and most applause went to Gov. Adlai Stevenson, who has just withdrawn. (Other Democrats who have so far withdrawn are Truman, Justice Vinson and the two Douglases, Paul and William). Stevenson looked to us like a man who could beat Ike, or anybody else. He had the unfair advantage over the others perhaps that he had quit the race and hence was easy and relaxed in the rather brutal atmosphere of physical comparison. Even so, he was head and shoulders above the rest, in our judgment. Barkley, at 74, is too old, unless the party is going into voluntary bankruptcy and name him receiver. Big, booming Sen. Robert Kerr (Okla.) we can't take seriously. Sen. Brien McMahon's oratory is too flowery and florid. Tall, stooped, anxious, competent Harriman lacks the magic touch—his speech was neither very good nor very bad. Estes Kefauver, we confess, was a disappointment. He had a fine speech, and didn't put it over. His delivery lacks force and fire. In this situation Stevenson's success was all the more galling.

We talked to little Jake Arvey—Col. J. M. Arvey, Illinois Democratic National Committeeman—both before and after the New York affair. To us he is one of the most interesting men in America. He is the first Jewish "boss" of a big city we know, a marked contrast in many ways to the historic Irish "boss" of fact and fiction. Arvey is the man who introduced both Stevenson and Paul Douglas to big league politics; he thought Truman and the Democrats were licked in 1948 anyway, so he gave the highbrows a whirl, and to his astonishment found them getting huge majorities. Arvey was disconsolate before the speaking began in New York that Stevenson wouldn't run. He was certain Stevenson meant what he said, but was equally confident that if the convention drafted Stevenson he would go along. After the speaking Arvey left for Chicago even more convinced that a final effort at a "draft" should be undertaken. While it is our judgment that such a move has slight chance the fact remains that the Democrats are in a hole. They might draft Stevenson, they might draft Truman, they might pick a

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man who hasn't been mentioned yet. The one thing certain is that all politicians like a winner.

The latter part of 1952 was supposed to be the time when defense production would pinch, but it isn't working out that way. Instead, controls are being dropped and America is finding that, within limits, it can have guns and butter too. What worries industry is what happens if truce comes in Korea and defense spending drops? Some businessmen are all the more gloomy because further wage disputes lie ahead in coal, rubber, petroleum and other big industries. Ultimate truce in Korea seems likely, the State Department and the Pentagon believe, because Russia won't want to leave its rear unprotected in Asia when its major concern is to manipulate Germany over to its side in Europe. But business shouldn't worry about defense spending slackening off suddenly, even if Congress makes drastic (and dangerous) cuts. The Pentagon has a huge reserve of orders now; the bottleneck is not dollars, but factories and blueprints. It may emerge this fiscal year with $3.5 billion unspent from simple inability to sluice it out. The danger of drastic slashes, like the House cut of $4.7 billion, is that defense orders can't be planned ahead.

Truman keeps throwing reorganization plans at Congress. These infuriate balky Congress because they hit Congressional patronage. Truman has tossed in a batch of bills to take postmasters and other top federal job-holders finally out of the spoils system. Everybody ought to favor this reform, but Congress may beat it.

Notes: Couplet from Mrs. Silas Vance, Alva, Okla.: "I might like Ike, but what about *them*, Senators Jenner, McCarthy and Kem?". . . . Congressional franked free mail has quadrupled since last year; reason re-election propaganda is being sent at taxpayer's expense. . . . The union shop is about ready to spread throughout industry if the CIO Steelworkers get it; Congress amended the Taft-Hartley Act last year to open the door for it, and the trend has been steady.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page 2*)

1952. Only $17.4 billion has been expended to date.

Washington, D. C. HARRY CONN

The 1952 Campaign

● The other day a story in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* read as follows: "Col. Robert R. McCormick is fishing for a candidate. He likes Taft and MacArthur but—just in case—he paid a visit to Eisenhower in Paris, same as he visited MacArthur in Manila in 1948. Bertie reported he disagreed with Eisenhower on foreign policy, but thought they agreed on domestic policy . . ."

Is this not proof enough that Eisenhower is conservative and reactionary on domestic issues? I have yet to see the day when Bertie McCormick agrees with or supports a friend of the common man.

St. Louis, Mo. MURRAY WEST

● I am among the many who regret the finality with which Adlai Stevenson announced he was not a candidate for the Presidency. However, I see no reason why he still isn't available if we *draft* him. Stevenson would have the support of the large Northeast delegations and, on a ticket with Kefauver, could assure a Democratic victory.

Portland, Ore. T. K. JUDD

● The mad scramble in which the once leader-bound Democratic Party is presently engaging for the Presidential nomination plum could be resolved tomorrow if the liberals over the country wake up to the fact that Minnesota's Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey is available. . . .

Senator Humphrey would resolve, once and for all, the issue of fair employment practices within the Democratic Party. His knowledge of the fundamental economic issues of the day was well illustrated by his excellent leadership in the fight for more equitable tax legislation. He has been among the more astute students of international problems. As a campaigner, as a warm and honest personality, he has few equals. Hubert Humphrey, as the Democratic standard bearer, would again make the party the selfless servant of the people.

Indianapolis, Ind. ALBERT K. LAWSON

● After reading *Strange Lands and Friendly People* by William O. Douglas, it occurs to me very forcibly that there is the man we should push for President of the United States. He not only understands all our domestic issues, but has a real understanding of what should be done to combat Communism in the sensitive spots of the Middle East. . . .

It seems to me that understanding and friendly assistance to the struggling small peoples of the world would be a truer basis for peace than armaments alone.

Is there anything we, the people, can do to make our country stand for these?

Castro Valley, Calif. MRS. W. J. BRYANT

Where Are the New Dealers?

● I disagree with some of your policies. You maintain that the Administration, Democratic Party, etc. are liberal. My basic premise is that since F. D. R. died, there has been a large swing to the political Right. (Fortunately, you have been pointing out many inequalities in the mobilization program.) . . .

Roosevelt said at Oklahoma City on July 9, 1938:

> During these past six years the people of this Nation have definitely said "yes"—with no "but" about it—to the old Biblical question, "Am I my brothers keeper?" . . . America needs a government of constant progress along liberal lines. America requires that this progress be sane and that this progress be honest. America calls for government with a soul.

What is the ideological basis of the present aid programs and who benefits? . . . How many men and women of labor unions are in important domestic and foreign offices? . . . I think that Representatives of the US should walk in the streets of foreign countries with the people. (Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt fulfills this the best.) . . .

Trenton, N. J. JACOB SHERMAN

Combating McCarthyism

● In the April 7 issue of the *New Republic* there were two letters to the editor expressing a desire to help in the anti-McCarthy fight by making a contribution to democratic liberal forces in Wisconsin combating Joseph McCarthy.

Beyond any question, Henry Reuss is the man who is doing the biggest job in this respect. Many of us are working to rid Wisconsin of the disgrace of being represented in the US Senate by McCarthy, but Henry Reuss is risking his whole career; he is working tirelessly in all parts of the state, his income is being substantially reduced. No one has as big a stake in this fight as Henry Reuss. If he is successful the reward will be the office of US Senator, but the most important thing is that Wisconsin will once again have honest, able leadership.

Those who wish to make a contribution to this fight, should send checks either to Henry Reuss or the Reuss for US Senate Committee which is now located at 212 W. Wisconsin Avenue.

Milwaukee, Wis. ROBERT W. LANDRY

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New Republic

RIP TIDE FOR THE DEMOCRATS

ROUGH water marks the rip tide of the Democratic Party, where the even flow of machine politics collides with the turbulent and uncontrollable force of public opinion. Democratic voters have insisted on freeing the party from its machine leaders. The leaders have insisted on keeping control of the party.

Adlai Stevenson, the one man who could satisfy both forces, is out. His decision leaves the Democratic voters with Estes Kefauver, and the leaders without a candidate.

The immediate result has been a race by other candidates to win the favor of the leaders in the belief that they still hold control. Sen. Robert Kerr is telling the leaders that Russell's candidacy will cause a deadlock that he alone can break; Russell, who entered the race to block Truman, is attempting to convince them of what he has convinced himself—his own qualifications. Averell Harriman of New York and Sen. Brien McMahon of Connecticut have announced their availability, and Harriman has the President's blessing if not his support.

The White House has advised state party leaders to give Harriman three weeks to determine whether he can develop sufficient strength. Harriman is a man of great experience and obvious integrity. But the leaders are not convinced that he is their man and for the voters he lacks the ability to arouse the enthusiasm which traditionally bears the Democrats back to power. As New York's favorite son, Harriman will have close to 94 delegate votes on the first ballot at Chicago. It seems unlikely, however, that he will have much more beyond a scattering of votes from New Jersey and Pennsylvania and a few from Stevenson backers in Illinois. West of the Mississippi, where the Harriman name is a reminder of old feuds with Eastern capital, the New Yorker will find the going hard.

While Harriman's future is turned over by the big city bosses, Sen. Estes Kefauver will be plodding his determined way through the dirt roads of Florida and shaking hands through Ohio, Oregon and California where his remaining primary races are to be run. Kefauver suffered one of his few setbacks to date at the New York City dinner honoring Harriman where all the Democratic hopefuls, except Sen. Richard Russell, made speeches. The impression left there by an exhausted man cost him support where he is already weak. But strong showing in Florida, in his only match with Senator Russell, can regain the lost ground for Kefauver.

The probability is that Kefauver will continue to gain strength right up to the July National Convention. Sen. Paul Douglas' declaration of support for Kefauver will count among liberal and independent voters, even though Douglas cannot deliver the Illinois convention vote. A similar announcement which is expected to come from Sen. Hubert Humphrey will further strengthen the Tennessean's standing with those who see something lacking in his stand on civil rights.

Until now, Senator Kefauver has had no professional politicians at his side able to talk with top men in the party on equal terms and appeal to their desire to win if possible. If he can persuade a core of experienced New Deal political managers, such as Gael Sullivan and Oscar Chapman, to throw their lot in with him, Kefauver will come into the convention with considerably more than the 350 to 400 delegate votes which he hopes for now.

For organization leaders soured by Kefauver's crime investigation this is a galling prospect. They want him neither as President, nor as party chief. A movement is developing among those to whom control counts first, last and always to give the nomination to Vice-President Alben Barkley. This plan, born out of defeatism, foresees an Eisenhower victory in any event and is intended to keep control of the Democratic Party in regular hands.

With Stevenson and Truman eliminated and the field narrowed to a weak candidate nominated as the receiver in bankruptcy for the Democratic Party, or Kefauver, whom he has not been inclined to favor, President Truman may be persuaded to intervene in the convention on behalf of some other man of his own choice. The outcome then is unpredictable. But the proper course for the Democratic Party today is clear. Of present candidates available and willing, Estes Kefauver, on the basis of his record and accomplishments, is best able to lead the Democratic Party in the 1952 campaign. His liberalism would keep him in the traditions of the New Deal were he to be elected President and his freedom from the machine elements in the party would leave him free to rebuild a strong and decent Democratic organization after November if the Republicans win.

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THE WEEK

ONE MAN AND CONTROLS

With the steel industry under technical government control and its executives and the CIO Steelworkers still unable to reach a contractual agreement, the stabilization spotlight shifts to the Senate Banking and Currency Committee which is currently considering extension of the Defense Production Act. Its chairman, the often unpredictable Burnet Maybank (D, S.C.), may yet prove to be the decisive personality, not only in the future of economic stabilization but in the ultimate settlement of the steel-wage dispute as well.

The Committee battle for a renewed Defense Production Act was nearing a showdown at the time of the seizure of the steel mills by President Truman. In the period of uncertainty which followed, Maybank postponed Committee meetings, but sessions are now underway with Acting Mobilization Director John Steelman and Stabilizers Nathan Feinsinger and Ellis Arnall as witnesses.

In an election year no one intends to let the entire act expire on June 30. Rather, the opponents of controls plan to make it a hollow shell. It is expected that blustery Sen. Homer Capehart (R, Ind.), author of one of the prime weakening amendments in the 1951 act, will take the lead to strike out Titles 4 and 5 which deal with price and wage controls and the settlement of labor disputes. Maybank's position on this is not clear, but indications are that he will oppose Capehart.

A move which may have far more chance of success is an amendment by Sen. Everett M. Dirksen (R, Ill.), to reorganize the Wage Stabilization Board. This amendment provides that the public members of the WSB would outnumber the combined labor and industry members and would be subject to approval by the Senate. It would also strip the disputes functions from the Board. Maybank, although not publicly committeed, may well support this.

If the advocates of decontrol are unsuccessful in their fights against Titles 4 and 5 of the Act, they will probably concentrate on pushing crippling amendments, such as the Capehart cost-plus amendment, the Herlong retail mark-up amendment, and the Butler-Hope "black-market" amendment. On Chairman Burnet Maybank rests much of the responsibility for decisions which will either halt or encourage inflation in these showdown fights.

HOW HIGH THE LIMIT

The Senate Elections Subcommittee, taking time out from its studies of McCarthy and scurrilous campaign literature, is holding hearings to find how legislation can possibly control that crucial factor in American election campaigns—money. Having studied the mysterious ways in which campaign material of unmarked origin entered the 1950 campaign in Ohio and this year's in New Hampshire, committee officials are anxious to provide remedial legislation which will make candidates more responsible for the money spent on their behalf.

Present legislation limiting campaign expenditures is hopelessly out-dated. While candidates for Senatorial office are limited to $25,000 in the general election some such contest recently have actually cost 100 times that much. The hitch in the law is that it makes no provision for limiting the number of groups working for any one candidate. Thus dozens of Taft committees in Ohio between them spent about $2 million in 1950, while the Ferguson side also spent far over the official limit. The ceiling on spending in Presidential campaigns is no more viable. The 1940 Hatch Act put a $3 million limit on what any political party or committee can spend, but there again campaign treasurers have set up a myriad of subsidiary committees to evade the law's intent.

The initial witnesses before the committee, mainly radio and television executives, were called to give figures which will later be added up by the committee when it proposes a realistic spending limit for various federal offices. Some of its advisers are recommending against an attempt to set definite dollar limits, and propose instead that a new law concentrate on disclosing the amount and sources of campaign funds to full publicity. In either case, however, the committee will have to find a legal device for tracing contributions from their source to beneficiary. One obstacle to holding a federal office-holder responsible for all efforts made on his behalf may be a constitutional limitation. The charge that a similar Florida law is depriving citizens of their right of free speech by forcing them to clear favorable newspaper advertisements with the campaign manager of the candidate concerned is now being heard in the courts.

VERY PERSONAL HISTORY

President Truman has taken pains to point out recently that he was very unhappy about James Byrnes' stewardship of the State Department in 1946-47, that he made no secret of that fact, and actually reprimanded Byrnes in no uncertain terms when the latter returned from the Moscow conference in January, 1946. Byrnes has now made a bitter counter-attack, the gist of which is that Truman never came close to daring to reprimand him. Far from demanding a direct hand in foreign affairs, the President—according to the Byrnes version—was so wound up in playing poker with his kitchen cabinet that he seemed happy to hear as little about the worsening East-West conflict as possible.

But aside from purely personal aspersions, the Truman-Byrnes exchange points up the sorry state of American diplomacy during the period in question. For a good two years, it is now clear, America's political leaders were without means or method to counter the aggressive Soviet policy. Truman in his memoirs tries to put the blame on

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Byrnes, whose idea that one could bargain with the Russians as with a Democratic boss from Chicago has also been criticized in other quarters.

Now Byrnes exploits the President's own evident weakness during the period:

"The President frequently provided strong language. But he did not provide the iron fist without which strong language is exceedingly dangerous." Noting that the President quoted himself as saying that he was "tired of babying the Russians," Byrnes replies bitterly: "Well it was time for him to tire. Four months earlier at London *I* had adopted the policy of firmness and patience."

The picture of a President and his Secretary of State publicly blaming each other for the shortcomings of their foreign policy is a pathetic one. The fact is that both were ill-acquainted with the most crucial problems, and made poor decisions. The difference is that Truman has since learned the ropes and, despite the gaps in his grasp of world affairs, has managed to conduct a sane and realistic policy. In contrast, Byrnes is an embittered, isolated man, whose view of the world has become hopelessly intertwined with the frustration of his own political ambitions.

ACHESON ON AFRICA

Bitter resentment in Asia and Africa is only one of the fruits of the State Department's decision not to allow the US representative on the Security Council to cast a deciding vote in favor of hearing the Tunisian case. Here it has been attacked by the CIO and the AFL and seriously questioned by Eleanor Roosevelt, herself a delegate to the UN. Not mincing any words, the labor declaration condemned "unfortunate neutrality in a cause where our basic traditions should range America on the side of the exploited and on the side of a brutal imperialist regime."

But even those who don't see the North African conflict crystallized in this way, questioned this Acheson decision. They point out that in backing the French attempt to squelch the issue, the State Department was abandoning its own principles. For in the past, especially when a Russian veto was in the offing, the American representatives waxed eloquent in defense of the principle of free discussion. But US abstention on the Arab-Asian plea to hear the Tunisia case was in effect just as decisive a veto of free discussion as one of Gromyko's sharp No's.

When questioned on this point subsequently, Secretary Acheson displayed his legal mastery. "I think what we always have to have in mind," he said in the manner that often infuriates his supporters, "is Justice Holmes' famous statement that general principles do not decide concrete cases." It is questionable whether in introducing this bit of legal philosophy into the case will obsure the free discussion principle in Tunisian eyes. Acheson may have valid reasons for coddling the French at this point, but his cause is not served by attempts to keep not only the Security Council, but American and world public opinion from weighing the real issues.

CATHOLICS AND FREUD

From Rome the other day came a remarkable attack on psychoanalysis by an important official of the Catholic Church. Msgr. Pericle Felici, the author, is both a representative of the Vatican and of the Diocese of Rome, and his attack is published in the official Diocesan bulletin.

It is an extraordinary document for several reasons. First, it assumes that all psychoanalysts are rigid followers of Freud, which is not true. Second, it assumes that Freudians must accept every last scrap of Freud's writings, which is equally untrue. Third, Monsignor Felici shows a really shocking lack of knowledge of current psychological thought, Freudian and otherwise, for one who sets himself up as a guide for large numbers of the Catholic clergy.

His statement is all the more disturbing, coming on the heels of a sensible recent speech by Pope Pius in which he accepted many aspects of modern scientific teaching heretofore disputed by religious fundamentalists. It is hard to believe, on a basis of that speech, that Pope Pius agrees with Monsignor Felici, or that the latter is authorized to speak for the Vatican.

THE ANTI-COMMUNISTS

The American Newspaper Publishers met last week in the Waldorf Astoria. They criticized the Administration for not trying to stop Communism. They went on to boast of the increased advertising their publications are carrying. No delegate rose to point out that the tons of newsprint this required could have provided South Asia with a sound free press, or doubled the paper supply available in Europe where 368 anti-Communist newspapers were discontinued for lack of newsprint last year.

GOOD NEWS ABOUT POLIO

An important scientific advance has been announced in regard to polio. As a result there is far more hope than ever before that we may be able to immunize on a large scale against this disease.

In the past it has always been thought that polio entered the body by way of the nervous system, since that is where all the serious damage is done. It is now believed, on the contrary, that it appears first in the blood, where it is accompanied by only slight symptoms or none, and does not attack the nerves until some days later. While in the blood, it should be vulnerable to antibodies, the substances created by the body itself to fight disease.

About 85 percent of the population is immune to one or more of the three common types of polio because of an earlier, light attack. It is now thought that these light attacks may have been confined to the blood, and conquered there by antibodies.

Groups headed by Dr. Dorothy M. Horstman of Yale Medical School and Dr. David Bodian of Johns Hopkins have conducted experiments with monkeys, which are vulnerable to polio, which seem to prove the foregoing.

Last autumn, the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis performed large-scale experiments in several cities in the United States, giving numbers of people gamma globulin injections containing antibodies against polio. These experiments will be extended to other areas this year, to see whether the incidence of polio thereafter is lower than before.

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THE NEW SOVIET STRATEGY

NIKOLAI LENIN'S promise of peace and bread to the workers and peasants of Holy Russia in 1918 was both the key slogan of a presumably idealistic revolution and the cynically practical device to mobilize psychological forces in support of a seizure of material power. Since then, however, Communism has become a secular creed, and the slogan the apostolic source of the kind of world propaganda designed less to convert the unbaptized than to confuse and confound the unbaptizable into unwitting support of the continuation of Soviet world power.

The significance of the present Soviet trade offensive is a shift in emphasis from peace to bread. So long as the greatest dread was war, the magical word was peace. Now it is to be trade because, as unemployment grows frighteningly in consumer-goods industries in Great Britain, Belgium and Holland, remains static and high in Italy and West Germany, and threatens even in the US as the result of over-production, greater trade seems to promise jobs, hence hold off the spectre of hunger.

The trade offensive is in fact the second launched from Moscow. The first, in the spring of 1948, came to grief at the Big Four Conference in the Pink Palace of Paris. The reason then—the practical, power reason—was an effort to make trade, based on co-existence under a *modus vivendi*, the death blow of the new West German Bonn Government. One of the reasons now is to prevent the irrevocable incorporation of West Germany into the Atlantic Community. In this context, the trial balloons launched by the Moscow *New Times*, the International Economic Conference in Moscow, the Stalin statement to the American journalists and his talk with Sir Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan make up the tempting carrot to accompany the two most recent Moscow notes on Germany's future.

West Europe is full of talk of a "deal" and on terms which many highly placed Europeans find at least worth considering. The alternative, they believe, is the danger of economic difficulties so serious as to present a choice between the equivalent of social catastrophe or of repressive dictatorships. They fear the consequences if the chance of negotiations that may lead to a temporary relief of economic tensions is rejected without serious exploration.

The present Soviet strategy is adopted at a time when the forces of democratic Socialism—and of democracy itself—in a number of countries are gradually succumbing to the rise of the "realistic" capitalists—as opposed to the "moralistic" capitalists. And the latter-day Communists have shown quite clearly that they consider these men of the Right the lesser evil in relation to their worst enemies who are first the ex-Communist anti-Communists, then the democratic Socialists and finally the openly Fascist totalitarians of the Right.

The Soviet leaders are adroit in playing two ends against the middle. In England, for example, their mass propaganda is aimed at workers in the textile and other industries now beginning to suffer from the worst slump since the end of the war. The Bevanite current in the Labour Party is helped; and to counter this trend, the voices of the "authentic" Tories begin to be heard. The men in the Kremlin may be pleased by the anti-American rantings of a Duke of Bedford, but they are more interested in the possible chance of doing power-business with hard-headed British men of affairs who are more concerned with profits than with emotional crusades.

The advent in France of a Gaullism-without-de Gaulle means on the one hand reaction without *open* totalitarian trends and on the other hand the willingness to do power-business with the Soviet leaders on a hard-power basis without breaking away from the Americans.

Developments in Italy suggest that the equivalent there of de Gaulle may be Luigi Gedda, the head of Catholic Action. The threat he represents is so great that the basis of the Christian Democratic Party is being broadened (*de facto*, though not *de jure*) to include men of the Far Right whom Alcide de Gasperi would not previously tolerate as his fellow-travelers. Many of these allies turn out to be former Fascists or neo-Fascists who, while anti-Communist in Italy, have always thought it possible and desirable to do world-power business with the Soviets.

The most important country in the Soviet scheme of things is, of course, the United States. During the 1948 American Presidential campaign, the Soviets suggested by their propaganda and maneuvering that they preferred Governor Dewey to President Truman. They seemed to think that a Republican President would, more than a Democratic one, be amenable either to isolationism or to an internationalism based on *realpolitik* and *machtpolitik* rather than the Wilson-Roosevelt idealism. Now they (and many West European anti-Communists too) do not believe the confident assertion made by the State Department's US Information Service that "American observers are agreed that American foreign policy will remain the same regardless of who becomes the country's next President."

On the contrary, the general belief is that there is bound to be a change; and that the change will, naturally, be greater if a Republican is elected. So, in 1952 as in 1948, the Kremlin tends to favor the Grand Old Party. From their viewpoint, ***they*** can't lose no matter which of the two Republican contenders wins: Senator Taft will, they think, provide isolationism; and Eisenhower, they hope, will carry with him to power the kind of "realistic" businessmen with whom they can do business.

The Soviets have no illusions about the chance of America's abandoning her basic policies of armed preparation for resistance to possible aggression, but in the formulation and application of these policies, they prefer men ruthlessly concerned with self-interest rather than with altruistic crusades.

Paris PERCY WINNER

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THE POWER OF RIGHTEOUSNESS

by William O. Douglas

I HAVE HAD the privilege of visiting in the Middle East and Asia for three summers. I have seen most of the country from the Mediterranean to the Pacific and I have come back filled with prejudices. I have traveled it with my eyes and my ears looking and listening for things that I thought were important to Americans. But each time I came back with my heart very heavy and my mind filled with fear for the future of America, because I realized that America did not understand the world in which it was living.

I do not pretend to be an expert. All I can hope to provide is a point of view, but I do think that we need a different point of view and a new point of view else this great civilization that we call the civilization of the West may disappear. If it does, it will carry with it not only the things that we hold dear but the hopes and the aspirations of little people all around the world—the little people of the rice fields of southeast Asia, the aspirations of the goat herders of Persia. That is because we are more important, we Americans, we of the West, than we have pretended to be. We have, in large part, been assuming, in my opinion, a false role that is not true to our character, not true to our ideals, not true to our civilization.

William O. Douglas

We, in America, have been engrossed in the luxuries of our own civilization—our golf clubs, our hot dogs, our soft drinks—the rich, material civilization that our productive capacity has given us. We have imagined that other people should be like us. We are industrialized and have these things; therefore other people should be industrialized and they can have these same things. But industrialization is a very involved problem.

This summer I was where few Americans have been. I was on the Sinkiang border—up in the Karakorams in an area called Gilgit, Hunza and Nagir. The habitable portion of the region is about a half mile wide and 100 to 250 miles long. The valleys are about 5,000 feet and the canyon walls go up as high as 28,000 feet. It is a bleak, desolate, terrifying country. Those people, in February and March, have nothing left to eat. It is one of those food deficit areas. They have enough for 10 months and the problem in March and April is to find enough out-croppings of new weeds or flowers to carry them through. That is what those good people of the Gilgit area are doing now. They are tightening their belts. They can't grow anything more than they are growing no matter how much Point Four technical assistance you bring them. But there is something that can be done from the industrial point of view that can help them. There is an American by the name of John Clark from St. Charles, Ill., a geologist, a graduate of Princeton, about 40 years old, who is now in a hospital with amoebic dysentery that he got in this area. John Clark went in there two years ago. He had a "vest pocket" Point Four. He taught these people simple industrial skills—how to make a pipe, how to turn a lathe. Up to last summer, no wheel had ever been seen in parts of this area. John Clark brought them a few of the rudiments of industrial civilization. The reason he did it was that they needed exports, something they could trade—a pipe, a piece of cloth—and send over the high passes of the Karakorams and the Himalayas, down to the Punjab in exchange for food. When John Clark, a self-financed American, left that region in November, 1951, he couldn't get on his horse until he had walked six miles. The reason he couldn't get on his horse until he had walked six miles was because the people were lined up to shake hands with him, and kiss him, and thank him for coming in. There is no other experience of mine abroad that has been as moving, from the American point of view, except one. And that was when a Negro lawyer from Chicago, Edith Sampson, God bless her, stood up in New Delhi, India, and de-

Justice Douglas has revised this article from his extemporaneous remarks before the National Conference on International Economic and Social Development.

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fended America on the race issue before a hostile audience.

Industrialization is a big problem. In the Gilgit area it means doing the kind of a thing that John Clark did, teaching the people simple things, teaching them how to utilize a few of their resources, not opening up great power projects, not opening up great mines that some absentee group of stockholders will exploit, but teaching them simple skills.

Those who have seen Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and the other big population centers of India and Asia, will appreciate as I appreciate the great dangers of quick industrialization. If private capital were turned loose and if the physical potentialities of that part of the world were exploited in the full sense, there could easily develop in a few years the greatest sweat shops in the world.

Those who criticize Nehru for being a Socialist don't understand the background of India and the environment out of which he came. That's what Nehru is against—exploitation. That's why Nehru believes in his brand of Socialism. That's why Nehru carries out his type of controlled and managed capitalism. Nehru does not want sweat shops in India. You can appreciate how great a sweat shop it would be when you realize that a skilled laborer in India gets $1 a day in American money, and the unskilled labor gets around 25 cents a day. Industrialization, as we know it, presupposes a lot of other things. It presupposes labor unions. It presupposes the organization of labor so that labor will get its fair share of the production, so that it will not become the victim, so that it will not become the slave.

Industrialization even on the farms presupposes a lot in the Middle East and Asia. In 1950, I was near Kermanshah in Iran. It's a big, broad valley that looks very much like the valley that stretches south from San Francisco to Los Angeles, a beautiful valley, rich in bottom land. There is a wonderful man up there. He's a big landlord, but not the vicious type of absentee landlord that has placed a curse upon the Middle East and Asia. His name is Tavakoli. Tavakoli is a man who has seen the same vision that many of our industrialists have seen in America—the vision of a broad base of participation in the wealth of the country—opportunities for everyone—dignity and justice and freedom for all classes. Tavakoli has some model villages near Kermanshah. When I asked him about his American farm machinery that he had imported, there was sadness in his eyes because he had $500,000 worth of it and it was all broken down; and there was not a mechanic in Persia that could fix it. There were no mechanics and there were no spare parts. Even in Persia, the country that is a first or second cousin to us, there are no mechanics who can fix this farm machinery. There are no factories to produce spare parts. And in 1950 there was no foreign exchange to import replacements so Tavakoli had $500,000 of American farm machinery idle. I went down to see his beet-sugar fields out of Kermanshah. He had artesian wells and there were pumps to bring the water at various levels to the fields. But the pumps weren't working. I asked him why and he said because the valves broke and there are no valves in Persia and there is no factory to produce them.

In Persia Point Four has done a very good job, by and large. For example, Isfahan is one of the most beautiful Eastern cities that I have ever seen, as remote from anything that we in America have as you can imagine. Isfahan is in the center of a region where there has been a wide distribution of land. Our Point Four people have done a very fine job in Isfahan. The reason they have done a good job is because they start their base of operations at a level which will benefit the people of the country. They have also done throughout Persia and Iran a very fine public-health job in malaria control. Point Four, as an isolated venture, is a very difficult thing to justify in many countries. But that is not true in Isfahan. It is not true in areas like Uttar Pradesh in India, where there has been considerable progress in the break-up of the landed estates, or Himachal Pradesh in northwest India, or in parts of Kashmir. In some of those places Point Four at the agricultural level could have a very profound effect. In other places, it might be almost a monstrosity. Let me illustrate what I mean.

In this part of the world of which I speak, eight out of ten of the babies die before they reach the age of one. We could take the simple public-health measures that we practice in America, send a half dozen experts from country to country, and save those babies from dying. We could do there what we did in Puerto Rico. It would be easy. Control the water supply, learn how to vaccinate for dysentery, and so on, and all would be well. But if we stopped there without more, we would be doing nothing but increasing the number of people among whom you would have to ration the poverty. We could send our agricultural experts and we could increase the production of the land 10, 20, perhaps 50 percent. In large portions of this part of the world of which I speak, the net return to the man who works the land is between 5 and 10 percent of the crop; the rest of it goes to the landlords, many of whom are absentee landlords. Most of them live in Paris, Rome or Beirut. Those people who get the 5 to 10 percent of the crop have barely enough to live on. They don't have enough to send their children to school. They don't have enough to have medical care or hospitals. They don't have enough to provide what we call material civilization, such as bath-

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rooms, water taps, electric fans, radios, rugs on the floor. These people live in dirt and misery. Increase the production of that land 10, 25 or 50 percent and most of it will go to the man who owns the land. Some of those countries are owned by 200 men for whom 3.5 million people work. Increase the productivity of that land and you make 200 men wealthier. Why should American taxpayers undertake that kind of a project?

This business of Point Four becomes complicated. It's easy to figure out a way whereby with the same amount of food you can increase the weight of a hog from 85 pounds to 100 pounds; how cross-breeding can push the number of eggs per hen up; how as a result of this or that or of the other thing you can increase the yield of millet, or barley or wheat 10 percent. But Point Four cannot be judged merely from a technical viewpoint. The Middle East and Asia have a feudal economy, a feudal political, social and economic system. That system was long supported by the British and made very romantic by the British. But those who want to stabilize that situation are the most dangerous people in the world. They are the ones most apt to accelerate the trend of that part of the world to Communism. You can't stabilize feudalism in the world today and expect to survive.

What begat Communism in Russia? Feudalism. What is the great political strength of Russia in any part of the world? Feudalism. As long as there is an opportunity for people to work and to meet the ordinary requirements of life, none of these desperate creeds will have any appeal to our people; nor will they appeal to other people.

One who is down at the bottom—as you would be if you were a peasant in the Middle East—would have to take desperate measures to escape. The desperate measures are the measures to get rid of feudalism. I have heard American officials talk about underwriting the status quo in the Middle East and Asia. That means in plain language underwriting the 200 men in charge of a country—stabilizing the political control of a government of, and for, the landlords. With all the wealth of America, it can't be done. With all the atomic bombs of America, it can't be done. This is a revolution that is going on—a revolution against the control by a few men of the destinies of the great masses of the people. I've been among them—I've eaten with them—I've walked with them—I've shivered with them.

They are wonderful people—as fine as the people in our communities here. I say that when we go with the Point Four program, let's be prepared to make up our minds whom we are for.

Are we for the people or are we for the landlords? Don't think we can avoid the issue. We won't be there—our Point Four people won't be there—a week before we'll have to take sides. It can't be avoided. The peasants will ask, "For whose benefit is this increased production going to accrue? Is it going to accrue to us or is it going to accrue to the man who lives in Paris?

I'm very happy that many of our people have stood up in the villages and said, "We're for you." It made me feel good, because I knew that that's what a town meeting in America would vote. But I've also seen other Americans in other projects who have been aligned on the side of the landlords. We can't take that position if we want to be in a position of leadership. Whatever you may desire, whatever you may wish, Point Four is a political instrument. Point Four, like ECA, is going to weld an economy either one way or the other. As long as it's American influence and American ideas and American dollars, I say let's do it the American way.

Sometimes there's almost an impossible choice. Sometimes Point Four will be brought to a country where it's difficult, terribly difficult, for a representative of the American Government or a person carrying an American passport to promote the kind of project that the great bulk of Americans would believe in. It is difficult because it would bring revolutions and the local governments would be opposed to it. But there are many places where you can do it. And I say, by and large, it would be a good idea to keep out of the places where you can't act in accordance with American principles and ideals.

Let me tell you about Mossadegh in Persia. I should say parenthetically that he's a personal friend of mine, and I have a great admiration for him. When he left this country in November, empty-handed, I was sad for him because of the tragedy of the situation. The British said, "He won't last three months as prime minister. We have a prime minister we'll put in when Mossadegh falls."

You know what has happened in Persia. Since December when Mossadegh returned, 80 seats have stood for election in the parliament—80 seats out of 136. How many do you think Mossadegh got? Seventy-five. You

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know the province up on the Russian border called Azerbaijan—the troublesome province that was under a Soviet-controlled Government about 1945? How many seats do you think Mossadegh got from Aberbaijan? He got all of them. He was opposed on all sides by two groups: the British and landlord groups and the Communist group. Out of two million votes the Communist group got 25,000 votes; but out of the first 80 candidates, the Communists in Persia didn't get a single candidate into the parliament. I say a man who can control a country at the polls like that is a strong man. I say he's a man who should be respected and supported.

Mossadegh is a wealthy man—an aristocrat. He has a land program that calls for the break-up of the feudal estates of Persia, for a sale of that land to the peasants, so that Persia will have the kind of land program that we, thank God, have had in this country, even before the Civil War, when all the land of the West was opened to our people and nobody got too much. Mossadegh would limit the holdings in Persia. The land problem, is the heart of the problem of Iran. Mossadegh is out to solve it. Mossadegh in Persia presents an opportunity that is rare. There aren't many political leaders that you can back in the Middle East because they're largely the status quo group, the feudal group, the landlord group. And why spend American taxpayers' money financing them?

Let me tell you about the composition of the new Persian parliament today. This is a grass-roots parliament; it represents a revolution come to the Middle East. That is something that has never happened in the history of the Middle East—a grass-roots parliament, as a result of a free election. Why? Because every goat herder in Persia loves Mossadegh and believes in him, just like the people in this country—most of them—loved FDR. Among the 75 new members of the Majlis are three professional politicians, 25 small landlords, 35 intellectuals. I suppose that would include most of us. There are six clergymen; there are two trade unionists; and there are three small businessmen. There are still 56 seats to stand for election, and I predict that Mossadegh will bring in 110 of the 136. Even though he doesn't, he already has 75 out of 136 which is rather good by American political standards, and even with that Mossadegh may get through his land reforms. And so I think we should be supporting Mossadegh, because those opportunities don't come very often in the Middle East.

We in America have great technical skills. We can produce machinery; we can produce a material civilization. But I imagine that Russia could do about as well as we could do at that level. I don't underestimate the tremendous power of our technical capacity and the importance of the material civilization that we have and its significance in terms of employment and the comforts of life and our standard of living. But I hate to think that America will go down in history as the nation that made the first atomic bomb or had the finest bathrooms or the greatest television sets or the fastest motor cars. Surely, America should be remembered and measured by things more important than that. What is this thing, America, in our hearts and souls? Is it something we can put up and see and look at? I don't believe so. I think it is what we wrote into the Declaration of Independence. And it wasn't written just for ourselves. Abraham Lincoln believed that the Declaration of Independence was designed not for Americans alone but was a document that would inspire other people to shake the weight and burdens from their shoulders the world around—the people of all races and all tongues. That's the idea of America we should spread abroad. That is the idea of America that I think is real and vibrant. America stands for freedom. America stands for independence. America stands for justice. Not justice in the landlords' sense; not justice in the French or the British or the Dutch or the Russian colonial sense—but justice in the American sense.

Why did we refuse to put Tunisia on the agenda of the Security Council? Why do we refuse to give these little people of the world a hearing? Do we believe in the righteousness of power? I thought we believed in the power of righteousness.

Well, that's Point Five. If we can go to a region in India where there is an equitable distribution of the land, where there is opportunity for the common man, and tie into that program—then we are promoting the American ideal—then we are identifying ourselves with the peoples of the world in their aspirations—then we're making impossible this crude, this crass, this dismal thing known as Communism.

If we go to a region to make a group of landlords richer, then we are promoting the thing that at home we hate.

If we go to Persia and back Mossadegh with Point Four, giving him wholehearted support, then we're promoting the cause of the civilization that we believe in—then we're promoting freedom, justice and opportunity, and dignity for the common man. Those who oppose him, who align themselves with the forces that would destroy him, are conspirators to turn the Middle East into a Russian concentration camp.

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If you and I were in Persia, we'd be for Mossadegh 100 percent. If we were in India, we might not be for Nehru 100 percent, because Nehru has been compromised by reason of his position in the Congress Party —though we'd be for him about 90 percent. If the conditions existed in America that exist in the Middle East and Asia, we tonight would be forming an American revolutionary committee—a committee to promote a revolution—to lead a revolution—to destroy the octopus that was overpowering us. The proudest thing in our history is the American Revolution. The ideas that it espoused are ideas that spinned throughout the world. Point Five is the American Revolution. Let's make it a good revolution. Let's put our ideas behind it and a few of our dollars. The strange thing about it is that if you've got some good ideas, you don't need much financing. It is the lousy ideas that require a lot of money.

Ideas are very dangerous; ideas have no boundaries—no state lines, no national lines, no oceans. They're powerful—the most powerful things in the world today. A few simple, good, old-fashioned ideas from the Declaration of Independence coupled with a fair portion of Point Four can stem the political tide of Communism. Take all the American money that you can collect and all the guns and all the atomic bombs and keep your program sterile of these ideas of freedom and justice and opportunity—and the Red tide of Communism will roll on and on and on. And that's what it's doing today. You can't stop it by talking about democracy and peace. You have to talk about it in terms that are understandable at the village level. We can't do that unless we are prepared to go into the villages of Asia and the Middle East with a program of political action. If you can't go in that way, stay out. When you go in, go in wholeheartedly in the American way. With a few dollars and a few great ideas, you can save the world from this horrible spectre of Soviet imperialism.

The Persians have a legendary character they call Mullah Nasr-ed-Din. He dates back to about the twelfth century; he's legendary. He's a character that Irvin S. Cobb and Will Rogers and some of our other American humorists would have enjoyed knowing. When you go into the villages of Persia, you pick up a lot of his stories. Some of them you have to clean up a bit and others are all right as they are. They nearly always start out with Mullah and a donkey. One day he was going down the road with the donkey; and this donkey was the slowest donkey in the Middle East. The day was hot, and Mullah got very discouraged about his donkey. Mullah, being a very ingenious person, always had something along to help him out. This time it was a bottle of turpentine. So he pulled out this bottle of turpentine and he applied it to the donkey, and the donkey immediately burst into a terrific spurt. It went so fast Mullah couldn't keep up with the animal. Mullah ran as fast as he could and still could not catch the donkey. So he pulled out the bottle of turpentine and put some on himself. Pretty soon Mullah passed the donkey. About that time they came to a village. The villagers rushed out and stopped the donkey and Mullah said, "For heaven's sake, don't stop him—stop me!"

Well, I think we've been stopping the wrong thing. I think that if we get behind Point Five and put it together with Point Four, we can really start to see things happening in the Middle East and Asia.

MISERY ON THE MISSOURI

by Jean Begeman

FOR THE TENTH time in 10 years the mighty Missouri River has overflowed its muddy banks, leaving 100,000 homeless and drowning over a million acres of rich farm lands. Only a year ago, the Missouri River was responsible for $1.1 billion in damages, the loss of 22 lives, and inundation of two million acres of land. The fact that this spring the Missouri River has again reached record heights—10 feet over flood stage in some parts of Iowa, Nebraska and the Dakotas—has forced long-overdue attention to the need for a unified flood-control and development program in the 12-state Missouri River Basin. The multi-million dollar flood-damage costs (see chart) have pointed up the necessity of a final showdown between the US Army Engineers' approach, based on piecemeal projects of small dams, locks and levees, and the comprehensive Missouri Valley Authority proposal.

Even before the current disaster, President Truman had quietly opened his drive against the Army Engineers' Pick-Sloan Plan, which the Hoover Commission reported to be wasteful of money, wasteful of resources and wasteful of the area's great potentialities. Last January, he appointed James E. Lawrence, editor of the Lincoln, Nebr., *Star* and a friend of the late Sen. George Norris, as chairman of the new Missouri River Basin Survey Commission. Last week, the President was about to send to Congress a reorganization plan, transferring all of the "pork barrel" rivers and harbors projects of the Army Corps of Engineers to the Department of the Interior. And, as if to complete his break with General Pick, Truman took off to view the ravages of the flood in his own plane (rather than one provided by the Army Engineers) with an entourage that included such MVA

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TEN FLOODS ON THE MISSOURI

Year	Lives Lost	Damages (in millions of dollars)	Acres Flooded (in millions of acres)
1943	17	$62.6	$2.4
1944	14	50.0	2.4
1945	8	46.0	1.9
1946	3	9.0	.7
1947	26	212.8	4.5
1948	0	33.3	1.6
1949	5	41.9	2.1
1950	15	55.0	2.0
1951	22	1,100.0	2.0
1952	0	100.0*	1.4**
	110	1,710.6	21.0

*Red Cross Estimate
**Army Engineers Estimate

proponents as Sens. James E. Murray (D, Mont.) and Tom Hennings (D, Mo.).

The present misery in the Midwest forced Army Engineer, Brig. Gen. Don G. Shingler, to admit, "We're in a hell of a lot of trouble." Since World War II, the Engineers and Interior have spent more than $1.5 billion on the Pick-Sloan Plan. Yet Benton Stong, chairman of the Regional Committee for an MVA, points out that despite the Army Engineers' application of "band-aid plasters" along the banks of the river, floods in the last decade, involving no more water than some previous flows, "crested up to five feet higher than before the Corps applied its patches."

In addition, the President's National Water Policy Commission, which completed a long study last year, has also severely criticized the Corps of Engineers' inefficient and costly operation. The House Appropriations Committee recently released a shocking report on the engineering work of the Corps, charging that the Army had underestimated the cost of 182 navigation and flood-control projects by 124 percent.

The plan to consolidate the Army Engineers' civil functions into the Interior Department is one step in the right direction. At present some 32 government agencies and divisions have a stake in various projects in the Missouri Basin. As Sen. Guy Gillette (D, Iowa), who introduced the first MVA bill in 1944, observed:

> It would be absurd for Ford Motor Company to divide itself into 20 or 30 autonomous departments, with the body department and the motor department competing for iron and steel and producing parts to the limit of their acquisition of metal without regard for the other . . . That is almost exactly what we have in the Missouri Basin today.

Even with the Army Engineers and Interior under the same roof, there will still be a multiplicity of separate programs in the Missouri Valley, although much of the petty competition between them will cease. The proposal, which has not yet been sent to Congress, would create a new Public Works Division under the Interior Department, consolidating the jobs now performed by both Reclamation (Interior) and Civil Functions (Army Engineers).

Congress has consistently refused to authorize the kind of over-all social and economic plan for the region that TVA supplies for the Tennessee Valley. Meanwhile it continues to condone the piecemeal Pick-Sloan Plan program which ultimately would cost $14 to $16 billion.

Riding on the crest of an "economy wave," the House Appropriations Committee, headed by Rep. Clarence Cannon, a Missourian who should be keenly aware of the importance of flood control, has even slashed major projects along the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers which, if completed, would have lessened the devastation in the flood areas this year. The Committee, early this month, killed the $13.5 million appropriation for the Tuttle Creek Dam, key project of the Kaw Valley, and cut all appropriations for flood control in the Missouri Basin. President Truman remarked that, as usual, there has to be a disaster before anyone will take action to meet the situation. This is true of national defense and also of flood control, the President said.

Another obstacle to a sound regional approach looms in a movement among several of the Missouri Basin governors to form an "interstate compact" that would forestall an MVA should the Pick-Sloan Plan collapse. The failure of such a compact in the Colorado River Basin, where water lawyers have lived opulently off fees from the interstate litigation arising out of it, is evidence enough that another compact would only obstruct the real solution to the Missouri Basin problem.

The President's Survey Commission, which has scheduled early meetings in each of the 12 Valley states, has been given only a year in which to complete its study of the Missouri Basin and come up with a solution. James G. Patton, president of the National Farmers Union, has urged the President to supply the Commission with "several millions" so that it can extend its present study phase into preliminary planning for the Basin, thereby clearing the underbrush for whatever agency or Valley authority succeeds them. "Any step which can be taken to speed a sane program to tame the Missouri and make it serve the nation instead of destroying life, property and productivity, should be taken at once," Patton said.

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USA CONFIDENTIAL: VOYEURISM IN POLITICS

by John P. Mallan

A STRONG stench turns most of us, sickened, away. But when it comes from a source of filth, distributed in every drugstore, when the creators of that filth are shoving it into the minds of millions of Americans every day, then it deserves attention.

Jack Lait, managing editor of Hearst's New York *Daily Mirror*, and Lee Mortimer, a *Mirror* gossip columnist, began their series four years ago with two books on the taverns, boweries and whorehouses of New York and Chicago. Last year their poisonous attack on government, *Washington Confidential*, was read by more Americans than any non-fiction book except *Look Younger, Live Longer* and *Betty Crocker's Cook Book*. Their new work, *USA Confidential*, is now heading best-seller lists. Its slurs against Kefauver are being distributed in thousands of reprints by Gov. Warren's forces in Florida. Its slanders against Michael DiSalle are being broadcast and spread through Ohio by his enemies in the Senate race. Republicans everywhere are preparing to use it as a major campaign document though it smears the best of them, such as Sen. Margaret Chase Smith and General Eisenhower. And entertainers such as Kate Smith and Walter Winchell are bringing Lait and Mortimer to their huge audiences.

These two men are hurting America as much as Joe McCarthy. McCarthy's habitat is the cloakroom; theirs is the men's room. His sources are informers; theirs are bellhops. But the audience of confused and gullible readers is the same, and so is the target—every spokesman for decency and reason who can be slurred in Pegler's tradition as a "bleeding heart."

The "information" revealed by Lait and Mortimer is inaccurate on almost every score, as gossip spread by bellhops invariably is. But it isn't the facts but the formula which counts. The formula wasn't apparent in the smears on New York and Chicago. It began in *Washington Confidential*. There, while Lait and Mortimer still gave a few prostitutes' phone numbers, and a list of places where one can make a bet or buy marijuana, the emphasis became political. It started with a wisecrack about Dean Acheson's bathroom, went on with a long harangue against "Eleanor" who still "rules the nation Harry Truman thinks he rules" with her parties for "sweaty indigents, Negroes and slum-house guardians of gutter garbage." It progressed by identifying in one blurred mass "Negroes, Communists, Socialists, traitors and New Dealers" to the final, predictable attack on the State Department, home of criminals, homosexuals and spies.

This proved to be even better than the chop-licking descriptions of "Bare Babe" establishments or accounts of the underworld run by Sicilians with the aid of Negroes, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Jews. And in *USA Confidential* the formula is perfected. This, grimly and monotonously presented, is their America, their *political* America in which homosexuals, prostitutes and Communists appear everywhere, but arm in arm with the Fair Dealers, liberal Republicans and "labor goons."

Sensation follows sensation in the space of a few pages; thus, we are told that the Mafia and the Communist Party work together to bring narcotics into the United States (page 27); that "New York dope-peddlers are imported from Puerto Rico to sell junk and vote for Marcantonio" (page 29); that via jazz music, "white girls are recruited for colored lovers" (page 37); that Lesbianism is encouraged by "Marxist teachings" and "the examples of women in high political and social places" (page 43); that the State Department still, "despite denials and purges, is considerably more than 30 percent faggot," (page 44).

Homosexuality is the real thrill Lait and Mortimer have brought to Roosevelt-haters in the provinces; it has replaced old-hat descriptions of prostitutes and strip-teasers in the earlier books, and now leers from almost every page, identified always by the nasty little skid-row words these men use so effectively. Homosexuals exist, for these men, only for one reason: to be linked wherever possible to every reformer and intellectual in the country.

We are told that "the entire nation is going queer;" that homosexual night clubs are controlled by the Mafia, and used for recruiting purposes by the Communists (an ingenious three-way link); that "Harvard is so gay you can hear the swish across the River Charles," that "girl queers breed at Wellesley;" that at Wisconsin the students alternate between homosexuality and getting up petitions against McCarthy. We read that at Frank Graham's University of North Carolina, "the Commies literally stole the campus—what was left after the crooks got theirs." But, the authors add, "Homos were a big thing there, too."

Negroes are violently attacked in both books; they

John P. Mallan is a teacher of government at Northeastern University in Boston.

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are knee-deep in crime and leftist politics, selling out alternately to the Mafia and the New Deal. Yet we are told that they are really doing all right, when left alone by bleeding hearts and "the nagging and noisy minority" interested in them; in fact, there are actually no Negro slums in Washington—we read—except those deliberately preserved by "Reds and pinks" to create trouble. In the Washington of Lait and Mortimer, Negro policemen frequently make white women submit to them or face arrest. And "civil rights," we are told, simply means that the New Dealers excuse Negroes from obeying the white man's law.

At first sight the underworld seems to be the enemy of Lait and Mortimer's good solid America. Why then are Senators Kefauver and Tobey singled out, in a whole chapter apiece of invective? We are told that Frank Costello's friends in New York are working to get Kefauver the Presidency and that Rudolf Halley's election in New York was "part of the greatest union-underworld political steal in the history of the country." An almost identical comment is made about the recent victory of reform elements in Boston.

The book further discloses the hidden truth about foreign affairs. General Marshall, according to Lait and Mortimer, "under the orders of a Red-dominated Administration, prolonged the war in the Pacific from April, when the Japanese were begging for peace, until August, 1945, to give Stalin time to come in and claim spoils in North China." Later, we read that Acheson and Marshall "figured that if we went into Korea we'd be licked before reinforcements came, which would give the Reds the opportunity they wanted to get rid of President Synghman Rhee. It would also create an excuse for us to recognize Red China, give Formosa to the Commies, and discredit MacArthur."

Eisenhower is also attacked; Columbia is "overboard with Reds and pinks," which he left undisturbed. And Ike is part of a "sinister" strategy of one wing of the Democratic Party to give him both parties' nominations, and thus retain control of the country. And of course there is the United Nations—"loaded with spies, fairies, Lesbians and bright young men of the British Foreign Office," more than half its staff being Communists or sympathizers. William O. Douglas and Walter Reuther are among those plotting to turn the United States over to a world government dominated by the Communists and their lackeys—such as Nehru.

This is the filth boosted by every drugstore and bookstore, and peddled by Hearst. It is futile to point out its errors, because its attack is not on the level of reason. The worst mistake which liberals who count on reason alone can make is not to take these books seriously. They are reaching a large and growing audience which pays little attention to Pegler, which cannot digest the pompous dullness of William F. Buckley's attack on academic freedom or John Flynn's ponderous assault on the Welfare State. We are dealing here with the same elements of the middle class who once bolstered their economic hatred of the Roosevelts with the obscene stories which circulated in the 1930s, and the racist attacks which still make the men's-club circuit but seldom appear in print.

This is not *The Cross and the Flag*, with its tiny circulation, nor the mouthings of a Gerald Smith to wretched audiences. This is a big business and big money, with full-page advertisements in the New York *Times*. And the real prejudices of its readers are brought out tellingly in one phrase of an attack on Adlai Stevenson: "Stevenson, *like so many sons of prominent people*, is a thorough-going left-winger and visionary." One is reminded of the gloating of the *Saturday Evening Post* recently that only the ignorant in America "really understand" Communism, and all the educated are fools or worse. (*Italics* mine.)

Repeatedly, *USA Confidential* reminds the reader of George Legman's analysis, in *Love and Death,* of the American comic book and detective story. As Legman writes of Superman (and above-the-law private eyes):

> Most significant of all, instead of being brave and fearless, Superman lives really in a continuous guilty terror, projecting outward in every direction his readers' paranoid hostility. *Every city in America is in the grip of fiends.* Every mayor, governor, senator, president—even a district attorney or two—is totally corrupt and/or in cahoots with spies. Every country in the world is about to attack us—with our own bombs . . . And of course the army, the navy, the police and FBI and all the resources of civilization are powerless. Only the Nazi-Nietzschean Superman, in his provincial apotheosis as Superman, can save us. (*Italics* mine.)

"Every city in America is in the grip of fiends." This is the only possible conclusion to which any reader can come, if he takes Lait and Mortimer seriously. In every section of the country, the insane alliance of gangsters, traitors, and degenerates flourishes—abetted by every liberal Democrat and Republican, every labor leader, every college professor. Surely, if this is accepted as true, only a mammoth Peekskill, a gigantic Cicero, can save and cleanse an America so rotten within, so threatened without.

Only lynch law can save us. And if Lait and Mortimer cannot be held completely responsible, certainly they have contributed more to the spread of Fascist ideas than any other writers in our history.

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

CONTRAPUNTAL SERPENT

W. B. YEATS: THE TRAGIC PHASE, by Vivienne Koch (Johns Hopkins Press; $2.25).

THE LONELY TOWER, by T. R. Henn (Pellegrini & Cudahy; $5).

IN HER BOOK, but one half the size of that by Professor T. R. Henn of Cambridge University, Miss Vivienne Koch of New York University manages to say twice as much, and to say it better. By limiting herself in theme and material, Miss Koch illuminates both in the light of a workable theory; but Professor Henn, althought he had much unpublished material at his disposal, essays too many themes and brings few to resolution. Both authors are primarily concerned with the analysis of Yeats' later poetry, to which Miss Koch brings a forthright intelligence in contrast to Professor Henn's "academic thin-bloodedness," to quote a phrase of Miss Koch's describing the equally ineffectual work of another English colleague, A. Norman Jeffares' *W. B. Yeats: Man and Poet.*

Miss Koch limits her attention to thirteen poems of Yeats' final period, seven of which, *The Three Bushes* and several songs by the Lady and the Chambermaid, form a cohesive group. About these poems Miss Koch has gathered all relevant material to be found in Yeats' unpublished prose and letters so that difficult or obscure passages may be clarified in terms of Yeats' life and vision, and not in relation to anything extraneous. Further, Miss Koch orients her material and analyzes it in such a way as to reinforce what has not been sufficiently stressed in the more official biographies and interpretations: the prevailing tragic quality of Yeats' final vision; the suffering caused by his inability to resolve those dualities which became "the great human motive and dynamic of his work;" and his intense preoccupation with sex as the act and symbol of that which most passionately expressed the irreconcilable striving of the human condition, yet which in the "eternal moment" of the sexual act itself, in the "conflagration of the whole being," brought an illusory resolution of the antinomies, and a haunting glimpse of the Beatific Vision. These and similar poems by Yeats written in the "lust and rage" of his old age, yet with transcendent beauty, are among the most moving in our language, and come to climax in the last stanza of *News for the Delphic Oracle,* where the shades of the dead in reliving their memories are filled with more passion than is found in the senses of the living.

This is that central Yeats who wrote that "We can begin to live when we conceive of life as tragedy," that "No man can engender till divided into two," that "The tragedy of sexual intercourse is in the perpetual virginity of the soul." Although Miss Koch never ceases to stress the dualistic conflict at the very center of Yeats' personality and work, she seems to think that his final bitter vision came out of his realization that "the antinomies cannot be solved," yet Yeats was never under the illusion that such harmony was ever possible in human incarnation. Only in the last supernatural state where Chance and Choice become one, where the dancer may not be known from the dance, where body and soul fuse in one eternal flame beyond human recognition, could he conceive of any other state than that of a tragic and constant conflict from which all creative endeavor arises: "Between extremities/ Man runs his course;/ A brand or flaming breath/ Comes to destroy/ All those antinomies/ Of day and night;/ The body calls it death." But in the human condition, in the "fury and mire of human veins," knowledge of one extremity is through emersion in its opposite: the body may be known through the soul and the soul through the body, like two contrapuntal themes that never merge. Thus the Lady, who denies her virginal body to her lover yet gives him to her Chambermaid for sexual gratification, says to the latter of this tragic division:

That I may hear if we should kiss
A contrapuntal serpent hiss,
You, should hand explore a thigh,
All the labouring heavens sigh.

Yet, when Lover, Lady, and Chambermaid are buried side by side and a rose-tree is planted on their grave, "now none living can,/ When they have plucked a rose there,/ Know where its roots began." The resolution is possible only in symbol and glory, in the "artifice of eternity." This Miss Koch knows and stresses; differences of opinion or emphasis are of no importance where a work is conceived with such integrity that latitude becomes a privilege.

Professor Henn, on the other hand, fulfills neither his intentions nor his commitments. He offers us entire chapters of biography, on Yeats and Synge, on the development of style, on image and symbol, on myth and magic, yet offers us little that has not been as well or more thoroughly said in many periodicals and in books by Hone, Ellman, Menon, or Ure. His book is composed of a series of notations brought together under very general subject headings in a leisurely and gentlemanly fashion, and is certainly not the work of substance and weight which we might expect from a professor at Cambridge. Although no one as yet has published an adequate analysis of Yeats' great work of psychology, history, and the supernatural, *A Vision,* the three chapters Professor Henn devotes to the work are superficial, the diagrams casual and amateur. He seems to have no true understanding of a book which he quotes often. Considering the material at his disposal, it is disappointing to see what little of relevance Professor Henn brings together with any incisiveness or penetration. Nevertheless, his book must be used by students of Yeats for whatever incidental information they may cull here and there. Of particular interest are the relations Professor Henn has found between many of Yeats' poems and certain paintings, in particular between Poussin's *The Marriage of Peleus and Thetis* and the last stanza of *News for the Delphic Oracle*; this, and several other

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paintings from which Yeats derived some of his imagery, are reproduced in his book. Finally, though Professor Henn devotes an entire chapter to *Last Poems*; he tries to cover too much ground too easily, and must suffer the appelation, in contrast to Miss Koch's creative scholarship, of "academic thin-bloodedness."

KIMON FRIAR

THE LESSON FOR TODAY

THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN POLITICS, by Samuel Lubell (Harper and Brothers; $3.50).

FOR A NUMBER OF years Samuel Lubell has made a sort of profession of explaining the Democrats' mystifying election victories for the *Saturday Evening Post*. He explained the Roosevelt 1940 victory, and again the Truman 1948 victory, and informed the bewildered mass-circulation periodical that new forces were at work in the land. Each time it hailed this post-mortem as a startling discovery. In reading the similar intimate revelations in the early chapters of this new study, one feels the half-embarrassment of eaves-dropping on a kindly teacher.

Though Mr. Lubell possibly does not realize it he still gives the impression of explaining the facts of life to Republicans. He has served at one time or another as assistant to Bernard Baruch and to James F. Byrnes, and he has not found anything very nice to say about the New Deal. There is a rather condescending attitude toward FDR and Truman. He approves the thesis (or seems to) that FDR extemporized the New Deal "to steal [Huey] Long's thunder" from the Share-Our-Wealth agitation. He attributes to Truman the position of running very hard in order to stay in the same place; finds in him a "persistent irresolution"; and says that he is "no shaper of history." Some of us had supposed that the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, and similar contributions, might rate President Truman a footnote or two in history.

But Mr. Lubell is no fool and he has written a stimulating book that crackles with controversy. His major thesis is that the old, conservative middle-class political dominance in America was disturbed by the coincidence of a number of social, economic and ethnic developments around 1932, and that Mr. Roosevelt fell heir to it and manipulated it. One of the chief developments he notes was the maturing of the new immigrant groups and climbing urban masses, largely Catholic.

What he forecasts is that after the present transition period of turbulence the conservative middle-class dominance will be comfortably restored on the basis of a consolidation of the new elements. Then everything will be conservative again. What the author really hopes in his heart, I think, is that the Republican Party will join up with the Southern conservatives and create a new, victorious coalition. Mr. Lubell in his complicated (and many times penetrating) analysis rarely gives much outward weight to moral values, particularly in the rise of FDR, or rarely indicates that one way to be elected is to take a militant stand for idealism and the betterment of the underprivileged.

To Mr. Lubell's credit let it be said that he is a first-rate reporter and for two years made a conscientious research that covered America. He has found and pieced together material that is enormously stimulating. He declares "the Negro's attachment . . . has virtually solidified in the Democratic Party"; that to farmers in Guthrie Center, Iowa, in 1948 it was Dewey, not Truman, who seemed "the dangerous radical"; that the Irish-Italian political feud is growing and will cause trouble for the Democrats. Amidst a good deal of rather pretentious language about a "new theory of political parties" he also gives excellent firsthand accounts of isolationist thought in Midwest farm districts; of the ghetto vote that went to Wallace; of the reason eastern Protestantism became identified with Republicanism; and of ethnic feuds among the rising Democratic Catholics. Here, also is one of the best studies I have seen of how the race issue was raised to beat liberal Frank Graham in North Carolina by Willis Smith, the present Senator—a former head of the respectable American Bar Association. Graham's position was caricatured. The author says, after firsthand inspection, "Frank Graham was defeated not merely by a foul-mouthed Theodore Bilbo but by a nationally-honored lawyer, who was chairman of the Board of Duke University."

What redeems a good many of Mr. Lubell's early chapters is his sense that something is very wrong with the American political system and that someone must pull the fire alarm for action, quickly. After watching politics in Washington for 25 years I strongly—almost passionately—agree. The really stimulating books on American politics come these days from men like Lubell, not from universities, pointing that yawning chasm between the reality of American political life and the theory of political scientists. It is a wonder that so antiquated a structure as our present party system can function at all.

Mr. Lubell, to his credit, feels the need of modernization strongly. He concludes that the existing Washington deadlock is not a mere matter of personalities, but is institutional and dangerous. He asks with real agony how an administrative system that is stalemated half the time can win a global duel with Russia. Is our system of checks and balances, he asks, still serving the nation?

Foreign policy has become *the* issue of national survival. Yet, politically, we are organized to make the needs of foreign policy secondary to even relatively minor domestic pressures.

Mr. Lubell voices the alarm that almost any Washington observer feels at this situation. A stronger party system is essential. But while the diagnosis is accurate the author's own particular hope for ending the deadlock—a GOP-Dixie middle-class coalition—looks a bit uncertain. Maybe he is right; or again he may be writing another post mortem.

RICHARD STROUT

ROMANTIC ON THE LEFT

IN PLACE OF FEAR, by Aneurin Bevan (Simon and Schuster; $3).

THE ARGUMENTS in Aneurin Bevan's latest book, it must be realized, were written primarily to justify his excited exit from the Labour Government. That Bevan's romanticism has turned

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sour is revealed in the book's inconsistencies.

In Place Of Fear is significant chiefly because Bevan wrote it. Bevan is significant chiefly because, when such qualities were rare as radium, he appeared to be a Left-wing politician with personal and original, and not merely derived, political views.

For the middle class intellectuals in the British Labour Party especially he had his overwhelming attraction: here was a Labour politician who could talk of Socialism in such humdrum, realistic terms as the provision of free artificial limbs, hearing aids, spectacles and dentures to the low-income groups, and knew exactly what he was talking about. My own early reservation about Bevan was a professional one, namely that he seemed not only a politician but also a journalist. Yet even as a journalist he had displayed his unusual independence of outlook, especially during the war when he edited the critical Left-wing London weekly, *The Tribune*, with George Orwell as his literary editor. Together, for instance, Bevan and Orwell had protested against the Treaty of Yalta at a time when the majority of Anglo-American publicists were still blandly holding up the famous quartet of Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin, and Chiang Kai-shek as the leadership of "democracy."

Talking about his plans in 1945, when he took office as Minister of Health, Bevan said that there were three sets of exploiters who had degraded the lives of "his people," that is, the Welsh coal miners. First, the jerry-builders, responsible for the drab slums of the mining towns. Secondly, the press lords, purveying crime, sensationalism and triviality in their popular sheets. And thirdly, the advertisers and salesmen of patent medicines. "And I am going to deal with all three," he promised then. He was and is still essentially a romantic—capable of seeing the world as he wishes to see it.

This romanticism was his strength, and weakness; but he fought his particular enemies as promised. As for the jerry-builders: since 1945, no house has been built except under strictest specifications. But British house-building by local authorities has remained slow, uninspired and inefficient. As for the patent medicine trade: under the National Health Service, it dwindled to a real minimum; though with all its merit the NHS showed many bureaucratic defects. In each case Bevan showed himself remarkably unwilling to accept criticism, and able to cover defects with oratory.

The same characteristics are revealed by his book. *In Place of Fear* shows that Bevan may be a first-class orator or polemical journalist, but the task of carrying a sustained argument through the length of a book is not his *forte*. Most significant, probably, is the first section of the book where Bevan speaks of his youth among the unemployed Welsh miners during the long-drawn-out British depression of the 1920s. During those years he certainly saw the reverse side of capitalist society. As profits from Welsh coal and steel had lessened, the capital invested there had shifted to more profitable employment elsewhere, the mines and steel works had shut down: but the workers, including some of Britain's best artisans, had been left to linger year after year on unemployment pay—"the dole."

As he has shown again and again, Bevan has never forgotten those years, when he forged his views of class war from personal experience. He has never lost his hatred of the British Conservative ruling class. As he writes *In Place of Fear*, his particular Socialism was far more than theoretical: his thought was always on "the one practical question: Where does power lie in this particular State of Great Britain, and how can it be achieved by the workers?" What makes him an unusual figure among British Labour leaders is that he has never swerved for one moment from his preoccupation with the need for Socialism and the struggle of "his class." And when Labour let Churchill out of office in 1945, his hour seemed to have come. Bevan's public housing programme, his initiation of the National Health Service, the nationalization measures, the increasing taxation of property: to his Cabinet colleagues they might mean a different thing, but to Bevan these measures were merely stages to his romantic aim, the British workers' state, British Socialism.

Perhaps this was not realized at first, but it became plainer as Bevan's disappointment with the "Welfare State"—which was certainly not Socialism—drove him into increasingly bitter clashes with moderate colleagues like Attlee, Bevin and Morrison.

The section most interesting to Americans is no doubt that which Bevan has grandiloquently entitled "World Leadership." Here Bevan attacks the extent of Western rearmament under American direction which he considers economically disastrous; he attacks Stalinism for having "maimed and polluted the Russian revolution beyond recognition"; he praises Tito, but at the same time minimises the Soviet military threat. As away out from present tension he proposes a sketchy and grandiose world plan for aid to the underdeveloped countries in which the United States and her Allies are to ask Soviet Russia to participate: what is to happen if Moscow, according to every precedent, were to refuse, is a question he does not stop to answer.

All this may seem very sketchy and unclear. Yet I think that to dismiss it as such would be to miss the essential point, which is this: Western rearmament was the main factor which stopped that advance towards British Socialism which is Bevan's supreme concern, *therefore* he is bitterly opposed to it and searching for every argument, time or distance, to hurl at its supporters. Parochialism? I think two observations should be made here. First, though it is true that the classic Western class struggle has today been superceded by the greater conflict between totalitarianism and democracy, this is only broadly true. It is of little use, as Bevan says, to preach this precedence in areas where there is economic distress *and* a sharp sense of injustice—for example among the Italian working class. And this means that "Bevanism" is more than a subject for international abuse. It is a sign of the fact that the present Western reaction against the Soviet threat has not yet become in any sense a Counter-Reformation.

T. R. FYVEL

Mr. Fyvel, former literary editor of *The Tribune*, London, is NR correspondent there.

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A two-fisted treatment of a kid-glove subject

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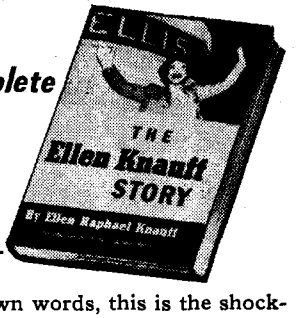

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COMMITTED TO POETRY

AUDEN, by Richard Hoggart (Yale Press; $3.75).

IN AN ESSAY ostensibly on Henry James, W. H. Auden succeeded in fixing the necessity for poetry in our dark and complicated age, and wrote :

> In grasping the character of a society, as in judging the character of an individual, no documents, statistics, "objective" measurements can ever compete with the single intuitive glance. Intuition may err . . . for the principles are subtle and numerous, and the omission of one principle leads to error; but documentation, which is useless unless it is complete, must err in a field where completeness is impossible.

This recognition has given Auden's poetical career its uncommon urgency. In a sense, his achievement to date has been staked on a high and difficult wager: that the free intuition, ceaselessly exploring its subtle principles, can define within one totally experienced self the choices and tragic conflicts of our century. To his own lightning-quick intuition, he has brought the reinforcement of prodigious equipment—an arsenal of theories, objective checks and odd facts, along with a fluent tactical command of verse forms. Happily for Auden's humanity, though less so for his more strict apologists, he also has brought a mind whose incorrigible wit often disguises the wager at his core.

With a poet so richly endowed and so committed to tireless communication, the critic's task is less one of explication than of simple ordering of profusion. Richard Hoggart, in this excellent first full-length study, has accomplished the ordering and gone beyond. With good sense he has organized his subject chronologically, relating the early poems to their governing ideas, then showing how these ideas developed and deepened in the later, longer works.

He prepares his analysis with an opening chapter on "First Impressions"—the magnetic and irritating mixture of virtuosity and carelessness, social involvement and impersonality, brilliant diagnosis, obscurity and slap-stick that bedevils anyone's well-intentioned approach to Auden's poetry. This tangle of qualities is examined more closely and considerably resolved in two succeeding chapters on "Setting and Stance" and "Technique." Here one finds suggestive discussion of Auden's characteristic symbolic landscapes, in part adapted from Rilke, those sweeping evocations of an urbanized scenery drained of sensuous immediacy and charged with moral warning. Here, too, is valuable commentary on Auden's tendency to regard modern life as disease, neurosis demanding cure, and his accommodation of popular songs, light verse and brashly contemporary imagery to his therapeutic purpose. The prosody of the poems and plays is charted, its specific success or failure appraised, but this is not Mr. Hoggart's chief concern. He proceeds to his investigation of the early themes (Politics and Commitment; Psychology; Love) and their amplification and enrichment by later themes (The Need to Emigrate; The Place of Art; Religious Belief) culminating in the four extended poems written in America.

This summary of the book can indicate its soundness of procedure, but not its sensitivity of perception, manifest on every page. Mr. Hoggart's study should find its deserved audience among two groups: those who would like to begin exploring modern poetry in terms of a specific and major figure, and those initiates who now regard Auden as a lost leader. The latter, put off by the frequently chill perspectives of Auden's present faith, are left with a challenge to take up or deny, the minimum conditions he has proposed for the free mind today:

> The acceptance by every individual of his aloneness and his responsibility for it—and a willingness continually to re-examine his absolute assumptions in the light of his own experiences and that of others.

Even in the recent stages of his spiritual progress, Auden himself has hewed to this basic discipline. As a result, Mr. Hoggart's book helps remind us that the poetry still reports more reliably on the exacting nature of our freedom, and the world's rout from it, than many noisier, more documentary sources.

ROLFE FJELDE

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AN INDELIBLE STAIN

THE JUDGES AND THE JUDGED, by Merle Miller (Doubleday; $2.50).

ABOUT EIGHTEEN months ago the American Civil Liberties Union decided to investigate the use in the entertainment world of the boycott based on political activities. To spearhead its study it engaged Merle Miller, well-known novelist and journalist, and this book, though published under commercial auspices, is his report of his findings. On the day it appeared, and on a basis of its contents, the ACLU filed a complaint with the Federal Communications Commission against four radio-television networks and two television stations, on charges of black-listing.

Mr. Miller and those who worked with him tried to find evidence to support a common allegation, that Communists with the power to hire and fire have discriminated against anti-Communists. They were not very successful. This does not necessarily mean that such discrimination does not exist, since it would be conducted with great secrecy.

On the other hand, a lot of people have clearly lost a lot of jobs because of charges against them, true or false, of Communism. Most of the book is devoted to the activities of a firm called American Business Consultants, publishers of a weekly anti-Communist newsletter, *Counterattack*. The firm also published the now well-known book, *Red Channels*, containing the names and alleged Communist affiliations of 151 actors, directors, writers or others connected with radio and television.

Miller talked to everybody he could, on all sides of the controversy, and wrote to the rest; it is a striking comment on the present atmosphere that most of the people listed in the book are still afraid to be quoted publicly by name. He carefully documents some striking facts. The publisher of *Red Channels* dumped in these 151 names by collecting them off letterheads, from the files of the *Daily Worker*, the records of the House Un-American Activities Committee and similar sources. No attempt was made in advance of publication to ascertain whether these individuals actually had been or are Communists and the publishers admit that they did not care whether they were. Numerous anti-Communist activities by a number of people on the list were ignored.

How many of the persons accused of Communist affiliations are actually guilty? Nobody knows. When the charge is made, they almost always deny it; since genuine liberals also deny it, the waters are hopelessly muddied, which is doubtless what the Communists want. This book seems to me to offer convincing evidence that a large proportion of the individuals catalogued were merely naïve, gullible, do-gooders—a type thoroughly familiar in show business.

Two people named in the book have brought suit for libel and forced retractions, and five other libel suits are now pending. But libel suits are not the answer: they are expensive, they are subject to all the vagaries of the jury system, and much of the material in *Red Channels* is privileged, being reprinted from government documents. Anyhow, winning a libel suit does the victim little if any good. Almost everyone named in *Red Channels* has suffered severe economic damage; some of them are totally unemployed. I doubt that they will ever, as long as they live, be able to get free of the accusation.

Mr. Miller says little about an important aspect of the situation: the heavy involvement of the Roman Catholic Church. The Church is extremely zealous in its anti-Communism, for understandable reasons. Since, however, Catholics have often been a persecuted minority, in various parts of the world, it is hard to understand why so many of them today engage in accusations which are automatically extremely damaging, whether true or false, and do so without any real attempt to find out whether they are true.

Mr. Miller and the ACLU think that this crusade, as conducted, violates fundamental American principles; but I don't feel they have much hope of self-reformation by the industries concerned. The situation will not improve greatly until public opinion strongly asserts itself in favor of a return to Anglo-Saxon justice. BRUCE BLIVEN

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A GRAND SCALE MYTH

PORIUS, by John Cowper Powys (Philosophical Library; $5.75).

THE BEST of John Cowper Powys' romances — *Wolf Solent, A Glastonbury Romance,* and *Owen Glendower*—have been massive feats of a weird, sombre, elemental imagination. So is this one in its attempt to tell all that took place in the Valley of Edeyrnion in North Wales from October 18 to 25 in 499 A.D.

These seven days were crucial ones in Arthur's reign and in the personal history of the hero, Porius. The intrigues of Arthur's life-hating, war-mongering, sex-fiendish nephew, Medrawd or Modred, and the resentment of tribal dignitaries against Brython-Roman domination led to a conspiracy to yield the Valley to the invading Saxons of Colgrim. Porius, the heir of the local ruling family, married his bethrothed, Morfydd, possessed and lost during frenzied hours of fertility ritual and massacre the daughter of a giant, and came into his princehood with the passing of his father.

Despite the emergence of these two lines of action and the limitation of time and setting, the effect of diffuseness is well-nigh overwhelming. Porius is the centre of narrative reference for only some of the chapters. Other characters bewilderingly usurp his place. The cast the reader has to keep straight numbers over fifty. The range is truly that of the saga, of myth on the grand scale, including everybody from Arthur himself and Nineue and Myrddin Wyllt or Merlin to Gog and Magog, with the poet Taliessin as part of the elaborate portentous machinery and with the Mithraic Bull and the Pelagian Heresy hovering in the remote theological background.

The Valley and its mist-shrouded happenings and all its amazing creatures are to some extent allegorical. Here is Life or the Modern World, with Porius as Everyman trying to come to terms with its disorderly pluralism:

> There's nothing I can do [he said to himself] but just accept this crazy loneliness in this unbounded chaos, and hope for the best among all the other crazy slaves! And why not? Such a chance-ruled chaos of souls, none of them without *some* fellow-feeling, *some* kindliness, at least to their offspring, at least to their mates, at least to their friends, is a better thing than a world of blind authority, a world ruled by one Caesar, or one God, or one—

Mr. Powys' at once dinosaurian and dionysiac prose is appropriate to such a vision. JOE LEE DAVIS

OF POE AND ARTIFICE

THE SECOND FACE, by Marcel Aymé (Harper and Brothers; $2.50).

AYME'S NEW NOVEL has an ingenious mechanical device by which a beginning is made, though the middle and end of the novel are difficult to achieve. The chief drawback to the clever plot is that the author (and the spectator) is tempted to conspire against nature. And the fanciful device offers too many ways out: it must either take over, or else it must be kept plainly a fiction. On the decision rests the possibility of serious achievement.

The novel opens with a device that reminds one of Poe; and considering Poe's curious influence on French writers, it seems oddly appropriate today. The chief character finds in the course of applying for "papers" at a government office that his face has radically changed. This event, he soon discovers, is genuine change: it bars him from his wife and children, his friends, and his business associates. He is forced to experience anew his very existence, that of his intimates and of his acquaintances, even to revaluate his former life.

The "problems" of the novel — the miracles, and the dependence of the spiritual upon the physical—are given a meaty and solid treatment within this slight literary device. The novelist's work is not stinted; there is no where any strain or awkwardness—that is, until one is at a distance from the novel. Then one realizes that Mr. Aymé has actually brought off a difficult job and that he has given the reader a genuine experience of middle-class existence at a high moral level; but with this realization one is also distracted by a sense of unrewarding fancy. The actuality of the re-viewing of experience, and the competence of the writing should have made this combined use of Poe and Defoe a work of first merit. But like his other four novels translated into English, this one seems too neat and contrived at its beginning and end. WADE DONAHOE

THE MODERN SHAKESPEARE

by Eric Bentley

PRODUCTION HAS a history no less varied and meaningful than dramatic literature, and, like literature, it proceeds from revolt to hardening convention and forward again to revolt.

When the Shakespeare reformers of the early twentieth century (Granville Barker, William Pool, Nugent Monck) went to work they had to rescue Shakespeare from beneath a load of trappings. As a decadent breed of stags proceeds towards extinction in an ever-increasing ramification of antlers, the Shakespeare theatre was dying of decoration. And of the resultant immobility, its horns, so to say, were locked in the foliage. Instead of a light succession of many scenes, one got a few ponderous tableaux. One lost the Shakespearian form, the Shakespearian rhythm, and even a large part of the Shakespearian text. And, since one was assisting at the death of that kingstag, the Actor-Manager, one was willing to overlook the little stags in the minor roles: that a Shakespeare play is an ensemble of parts and needs an ensemble of actors was forgotten.

Now it was precisely the rediscovery of the ensemble at the hands of the Meininger, Brahm, Antoine, and Stanislavsky that marked the birth of a modern, post-Victorian theatre. In 1913 Granville Barker saw a Shakespeare production by the newly-created ensemble of the Vieux Colombier and declared it superior to English productions. In the years that followed, English Shakespeare production gradually underwent changes. Perhaps the chief innovation was the elimination of pauses between the scenes and thus of that which had necessitated such pauses: separate sets for each scene. One set was often used now for the whole play. Drapes, curtains, and a cyclorama often

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did duty for walls and countryside.

It is scarcely necessary to describe the system, since it is the one we have been brought up on. It is sufficient to remark how the new technique reflects the new era. The lavish displays of Irving and Tree were a natural expression of the later-Victorian and Edwardian age, the Indian summer of the European bourgeoisie. The conception was capitalistic, the audience elegant. The simplicity of the "new" Shakespeare also had social as well as merely formal significance. It was less expensive and it was designed for less wealthy public. More important in this connection than Granville Barker was Miss Lilian Bayliss, founder of the Old Vic. Her aim was nothing less than to make Shakespeare popular.

Shakespeare had of course been a popular playwright in his own day but the only large-scale attempt to make him so in more recent times was that of the schoolmasters—which had the reverse of the desired effect: what the teacher tried to hand to the people, the people left on the teacher's desk. Shakespeare was unpopular because academic. Hence it comes about that to the modern Shakespearian movement, the movement which has actually succeeded in popularizing the bard, Shakespeare in school is a special bugbear. One understands why Margaret Webster called her book *Shakespeare Without Tears* and why Maurice Evans made, and gloried in, a GI Hamlet. The Olivier films belong to the same context, and the book in which the *Hamlet* film is presented to the reading public is very clear on the point. The director of the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre has written: "Pedagogy is a powerful enemy of the poet, and I think fewer children are drawn to Shakespeare than are deterred from him through having to study his plays.

The "modern" Shakespeare movement has meant the popularizing of Shakespeake by the direct method—performance. If its promoters were interested in edification at all, they understood that the arts can only edify when they amuse. The "moderns" are certainly contributing to the education of the people precisely in making Shakespeare a national institution. The artistic gains have also been considerable. The new audiences were seeing a much more complete version of Shakespeare's text, they were being brought much closer to the Shakespearian rhythm and form. The new belief in the ensemble—and the director who would give it shape—helped productions towards a roundedness which, dominated by the actor-manager, they could seldom have had.

One can hardly be surprised, then, that the stalwarts of this Shakespeare movement are today in a very powerful position: they are a revolutionary party become the government. Like all such parties they propose to go on being "revolutionary"—that is to adhere to what was revolutionary in their youth—as long as they are allowed to. They seem to consider the stylistic problem solved; the only problem being how to bring their sort of work before ever larger audiences. Now to the extent that attention is focused on the managerial problem the artistic one is ignored. It has escaped notice that the "modern" Shakespeare style, like all others, has its limitations — which have become the more painfully evident with the years. We who are confronted with this evidence every time we go to their theatres are in a better position to judge and object than those who are doling it out, their heads in the clouds of democratic zeal.

The historic task of our "modern" Shakespeare movement was to destroy an old style and reach a new public. It was a huge task and it was accomplished. The mistake was in regarding it as more than preparatory. Necessarily, it was largely a negative task, and the modern Shakespeake has been rightly praised on negative grounds—for not having actor-managers, for not having much scenery, for not attempting elevated oratory. In the face of ranting actors and mumbling schoolteachers, your "modern" Shakespeare director would prove — again something entirely negative — that the bard is not boring. He is satisfied when a spectator reports that this was the first time Shakespeare didn't send him to sleep or when a journalist writes that it was all as exciting as a who-dun-it.

(This is Part I of an essay in four parts on Shakespeare on the modern stage.)

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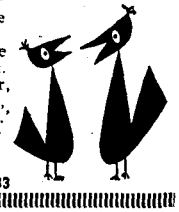

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